

Message Text

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PAGE 01 JAKART 05546 01 OF 02 291244Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 TRSE-00

SY-05 MCT-01 CU-02 A-01 OPR-02 OC-06 CCO-00

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-----291327Z 049773 /45

O R 291105Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 756

INFO AMCONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 5546

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, ID

SUBJECT: OUTLOOK FOR THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

REF: A. JAKARTA 4997 B. MEDAN 141 C. SURABAYA 177 D. JAKARTA 5544

1. SUMMARY. IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY OF THE STANDARD TOOLS USED TO GAUGE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES' ELECTION RESULTS, INDONESIAN OBSERVERS ARE RELYING ON SUBJECTIVE JUDGEMENTS AND THEIR PREDICTIONS DIFFER WILDLY. BUOYED BY GOOD TURNOUTS AT THEIR RALLIES, DEVELOPMENT UNION PARTY (PPP) LEADERS ARE CLAIMING UP TO 50 PERCENT AS THEIR "FAIR SHARE" OF NATIONAL VOTE WHILE MORE RESTRAINED MOSLEM SYMPATHIZERS PREDICT A 35-40 PERCENT RANGE. GOLKAR LEADERS ARE HOPING THAT DOOR-TODOOR CANVASSING DURING CURRENT "QUIET WEEK" COMBINED WITH THEIR TIGHT HOLD ON THE PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY WILL RIGHT ANY REVERSES SUFFERED IN
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PAGE 02 JAKART 05546 01 OF 02 291244Z

THE CAMPAIGN PERIOD AND DELIVER THEM UP TO 70 PERCENT OF THE VOTE. PROMINENT OPPOSITION INTELLECTUALS IN JAKARTA, ON THE OTHER HAND, FORECAST A DRAMATIC GOLKAR DECLINE FROM ITS 1971 SHOWING OF 62.8 PERCENT. THE INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDI) SEEMS RESIGNED TO AN UNIMPRESSIVE, ALSO-RAN STATUS. EMBASSY BELIEVES GOLKAR VOTE WILL COME CLOSE TO THAT IN 1971 (A SOLID MAJORITY) AND THAT PPP WILL GAIN. WE HAVE NO INDICA-

TION THAT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO FALSIFY THE VOTE COUNT AND HAVE NO REASON TO EXPECT MAJOR OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD. SHOULD PPP VOTE FALL FAR BELOW THEIR EXPECTATIONS, HOWEVER, MOSLEMS MAY WELL CLAIM FRAUD AND SOME UNREST COULD RESULT. END SUMMARY.

2. CLAIMING THAT PPP RALLIES HAVE DRAWN UNPRECEDENTED CROWDS, MOSLEM LEADERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED ARE FORECASTING A PPP PLURALITY IN JAKARTA, EAST JAVA, WEST SUMATRA AND PERHAPS OTHER SUMATRAN PROVINCES AND STRONG SHOWINGS IN MANY OTHER AREAS.

A. PPP LEADER AND CANDIDATE IN EAST JAVA, ZAMRONI, TOLD US THAT HIS PARTY WILL TAKE 150 OF 360 PARLIAMENTARY SEATS (UP FROM CURRENT 94), AND IMRON ROSJADI, WHO HEADS PPP LIST IN WEST JAVA, SET HIS PARTY'S SHARE OF NATIONAL VOTE AT 50 PERCENT IF FAIR COUNT IS ALLOWED. FORMER PRIME MINISTER MOHAMMED NATSIR, WHO IS NOT A PPP MEMBER AND WHOSE STATURE AND CONTACTS WITHIN MOSLEM COMMUNITY REMAIN PERHAPS UNMATCHED, WAS ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS UP-BEAT, GIVING PPP 40 PERCENT OF A FAIR VOTE.

B. OTHER KNOWLEDGEABLE BUT MORE DETACHED MOSLEM OBSERVERS (TEMPO MAGAZINE EDITOR GUNAWAN MOHAMAD AND GROUP OF YOUNG MOSLEM EXECUTIVES AND TEACHERS WHO HAVE BEEN PROVIDING LIAISON BETWEEN PPP AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT CIRCLES) SET 35 PERCENT AS MORE REALISTIC TARGET. NO ONE, INCLUDING GOLKAR LEADERS WE HAVE RECENTLY MET, ARE FORECASTING MEASURABLE DECLINE IN MOSLEM STRENGTH.

C. COMMENT: PPP RALLIES HAVE INDEED DRAWN IMPRESSIVE CROWDS BUT THIS IS ATTRIBUTABLE IN PART TO FACT THAT MAJOR MOSLEM GROUPINGS, WHICH PREVIOUSLY CAMPAIGNED SEPARATELY, ARE NOW UNITED. IN ANY EVENT, RALLY-GOERS CONSTITUTE ONLY
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PAGE 03 JAKART 05546 01 OF 02 291244Z

SMALL PERCENTAGE OF VOTERS. PP GAINS IN JAKARTA AND OTHER MAJOR POPULATION CENTERS APPEAR LIKELY BUT WILL PROBABLY BE OFFSET TO SOME DEGREE BY LOSSES IN THE RURAL AREA, WHERE GOLKAR HAS STRENGTHENED ITS HOLD OVER VILLAGE LEADERSHIP.

3. GOLKAR LEADERS DO NOT APPEAR PARTICULARLY HAPPY WITH THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BUT BELIEVE THEY CAN RECOUP ANY LOSSES THEY SUFFERED IN DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING IN CURRENT "QUIET WEEK."

A. GOLKAR CHAIRMAN AMIR MURTONO HAS IN CHATS WITH PRESSMEN CITED 65-70 PERCENT TARGET. GOLKAR LEADER AND CANDIDATE COSMAS BATUBARA USED 70 PERCENT FIGURE NATIONWIDE IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF BUT INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT ALTOGETHER CERTAIN OF GOOD SHOWING IN HIS OWN PROVINCE OR NORTH SUMATRA. STAFFERS AT GENERAL MURTOPO'S CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, INCLUDING CANDIDATE LIM BIAN KIE, ARE MOST OPTIMISTIC, CLAIMING THAT BREAKING OF MOSLEM PARTY HOLD ON MINISTRY OF RELIGION COMBINED WITH GOLKAR'S CO-OPTING OF LOCAL MOSLEM LEADERS AND ITS STRENGTHENED

INFLUENCE OVER PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE WILL PRODUCE HIGHER THAN 1971 GOLKAR VOTE IN EAST JAVA AND OTHER PROVINCES, WHERE GENERAL TENDENCY OF UNSOPHISTICATED VOTERS IS TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF LOCAL OFFICIALS. THEY ACKNOWLEDGE DIFFICULTIES IN KEY PROVINCE OF GENTRAL JAVA, HOWEVER.

B. OPPOSITION ELEMENTS AMONG JAKARTA'S INTELLECTUALS ARE IN CONTRAST PREDICTING DRAMATIC DROP IN GOLKAR VOTE. FORMER SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER SOEDJATMOKO, FORMER NATIONALIST PARTY FIGURE RUSLAN ABDULGANI AND CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADER BUYANG NASUTION, FOR EXAMPLE, ALL SEE GOLKAR WINNING AS LITTLE AS 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN A "FREE ELECTION." GUNAWAN MOHAMAD, WHO SAYS HIS ARMY CONTACTS INDICATE THERE WILL BE SIZEABLE NUMBER OF MILITARY JUMPING GOLKAR SHIP, SETS GOLKAR'S SHARE OF VOTE AT 55 PERCENT.

C. COMMENT: GOLKAR SUPPORTERS SEEM TO BE GIVING TOO MUCH WEIGHT TO THEIR ORGANIZATION'S STRENGTH IN COUNTRYSIDE IN ARRIVING AT THEIR NATIONAL ESTIMATE. GOLKAR'S DETRACTORS, ON CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 JAKART 05546 01 OF 02 291244Z

OTHER HAND, ARE PROJECTING DISAFFECTION AMONG JAKARTA'S INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY INTO HIGHLY UNREALISTIC NATIONAL TALLY. WE BELIEVE GOLKAR CAN REASONABLY EXPECT ONLY SMALL PERCENTAGE INCREASE FROM 1971 SHARE, AND THAT SMALL DECREASE IS POSSIBILITY.

4. PDI LEADERS, ON RARE OCCASIONS WHEN THEY ARE ASKED FOR PUBLIC COMMENT, HAVE MADE NO BOASTS OF ELECTORAL GAINS. PDI LEADER AND CANDIDATE WHO DISCUSSED ELECTION RESULTS WITH EMBOFFS IMPLIED HIS PARTY COULD EXPECT NO MORE THAN 15 PERCENT OF VOTE. COMMENT: EMBASSY LIKE MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVES PDI WILL FALL FROM ITS 1971 LEVEL.

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PAGE 01 JAKART 05546 02 OF 02 291243Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 5546

5. WE DO NOT EXPECT LARGE-SCALE DISTURBANCES DURING THE REMAINDER OF QUIET WEEK AND ON ELECTION DAY. DISPUTE OVER VOTE COUNTING PROCEDURES IS NOW IN DENOUEMENT (REF D). GOLKAR'S DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING HAS PRODUCED NO REPORTS OF RELATED VIOLENCE THS FAR AND MOSLEMS SEEM UNCONCERNED OVER ITS IMPACT. SECURITY FORCES APPEAR WELL PREPARED TO HANDLE ANY MINOR INCIDENTS WHICH MAY ARISE. JAKARTA SECURITY FORCES YESTERDAY CONDUCTED WHAT AMOUNTED TO A WELL-PUBLICIZED PARADE THROUGHOUT THE CITY OF JAKARTA TO HIGHLIGHT THEIR STATE OF READINESS TO SWIFTLY MEET ANY CONTINGENCY.

6. THE POST-ELECTION SECURITY SITUATION WILL DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON THE SIZE OF THE GAP BETWEEN PPP HOPES AND THE OFFICIAL TALLY OF ITS VOTES. IN EVENT OF A LARGE GAP, THE PPP WILL CHARGE GOVERNMENT FRAUD AND, ITS LEADERS TELL US, REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE ELECTION RESULTS. ALTHOUGH IMRON ROSJADI INDICATED

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PAGE 02 JAKART 05546 02 OF 02 291243Z

TO US THAT PPP WOULD NOT STIMULATE DEMONSTRATIONS, HE NOTED THAT BANDUNG STUDENT ACTIVISTS AND PERHAPS YOUTH GROUPS ELSEWHERE COULD BE EXPECTED TO REACT ON THEIR OWN. UNREST AMONG THE RURAL MOSLEM MASSES IS LESS LIKELY BUT COULD OCCUR AND WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CONTROL.

7. MILITARY LEADERS APPEAR WELL AWARE OF THE SECURITY PROBLEMS WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW AN OVERWHELMING GOLKAR VICTORY. ARMED FORCES DEPUTY COMMANDER SURONO IN A CONVERSATION WITH DUTCH AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT EARLY RETURNS FROM URBAN AREAS WOULD GIVE PPP UNREALIZTICALLY HIGH HOPES WHICH, WHEN DASHED BY LATER RURAL RETURNS, COULD INCITE SUSPICIONS OF RIGGING AND EXPLOSIVE REACTIONS AMONG PPP RANK AND FILE. WE CAN ASSUME, THEREFORE, THAT SECURITY AUTHORITIES ARE CLOSELY MONITORING SITUATION.

8. WE HAVE NO INDICATIONS THUS FAR OF ANY CENTRALLY DIRECTED EFFORT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO FALSIFY ELECTION RETURNS. SOME MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS HAVE, IN FACT, REPORTEDLY COUNSELED AGAINST SUCH A MOVE IN THE ADVENT OF AN ADVERSE VOTE. AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, HOWEVER, WE IMAGINE THAT MANY VILLAGE CHIEFS AND PERHAPS SOME REGENCY AND PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS WILL BE TEMPTED TO SUBSTITUTE A FALSE COUNT FOR RETURNS WHICH FALL BELOW THE GOLKAR "QUOTA" THEY MAY FEEL THEY ARE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE. THERE ARE THUS LIKELY TO BE MANY INDIVIDUAL CASES OF IRREGULARITIES WHICH PPP AND OTHER OPPOSITION ELEMENTS COULD POINT TO IN EVENT THEY WISHED CHALLENGE NATIONAL RESULTS.

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